

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

**Wyoming
Commemorative
Association**

ON THE OCCASION OF THE

140th ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

Battle and Massacre of Wyoming

AT TEN O'CLOCK A. M.

JULY THE THIRD

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN

**Press of the
Wilkes-Barre Record
1918**

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PROGRAM

"Star-Spangled Banner"

March—"The U. S. Field Artillery (new) . . . *Sousa*

THE ALEXANDER BAND

Charles F. Pokorny, Conductor

Invocation—Rabbi Marcus Salzman

Descriptive American and Indian Fantasy—"The Death of Custer"

BAND

Johnson

Remarks—President Benjamin Dorrance

A Dream Picture—"Uncle Tom's Cabin" . . . *Lampe*

BAND

Hymn—"America" . . . *Rev. Samuel F. Smith, 1832*

SUNG BY THE AUDIENCE

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing.
Land where my father's died;
Land of the pilgrim's pride!
From every mountain side
Let freedom ring!

Our father's God! To Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King.

Stephen Foster's Songs . . . *arr. Tobani*

BAND

Patriotic Address—Mr. Orrin C. Lester, Washington, D. C.

March—"Naval Reserve" (new) . . . *Sousa*

BAND

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 Bennett, Richard Dana, Jr.
 Bennett, S. B., West Pittston.
 *Bennett, Sarah C., (Mrs. S. B.) West Pittston.
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 Crary, Natalie Beach, Shickshinny
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 Dana, Sylvester, Morrisville, Pa.
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 Derr, Andrew F.
 Derr, Elizabeth Lowrie
 Derr, Katherine
 Derr, Thompson
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 Dickson, Mrs. Allan H.
 Derby, L. K.
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 Kirby, Sumner Moore
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 Lazarus, George
 Leach, I. M., Sr., Allentown, Pa.
 Leach, I. M., Jr.
 Leach, Nellie K.
 Leach, Mary H.
 Leavenworth, Mrs. Woodward
 Lees, Henry, Plymouth
 Lewis, R. C., Forty Fort, "Somewhere in France"
 Linskill, Charles D., Wyoming
 Labagh, J. Forrester
 Loveland, Miss Elizabeth, Kingston
 Maffet, Miss Martha A.
 Mandeville, Mrs. William Arthur
 Mandeville, Mrs. Maria R.
 Markham, Robert D., New York City
 Markham, George D., St. Louis, Mo.
 Markham, Miss Frances D., Dorranceton
 *McCollum, D. O., Dorranceton
 McKeehan, Bert Hayes, Wyoming
 McKeehan, Harry H., Wyoming
 McKeehan, Harry Robertson, Wyoming
 Miller, Mrs. Helen Reynolds
 Miller, Reynolds
 Miller, Burr, Jr.
 Miller, Mrs. Sarah Perkins, Wyoming
 Miner, Mrs. Charles A.
 Miner, Dr. Charles H.
 Miner, Mrs. Charles H.
 Miner, Robert Charles
 Miner, Col. Asher
 Miner, Mrs. Asher
 Minich, Harry K., Plymouth
 Mitchell, Mrs. Wm. B., Oak Lane, Philadelphia

Morgan, Mrs. T. Archer
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 Parsons, Maj. O. A.
 Patterson, Roswell H., Scranton
 Peck, William H., Scranton
 Peck, William J., Pittston
 Pettebone, Mr. and Mrs. George, Forty Fort
 Pettebone, Mr. and Mrs. W. T., Forty Fort
 Pettebone, J. S., Dorranceton
 Phelps, William G., Binghamton
 Plumb, Mr. and Mrs. H. B., Battle Creek, Mich.
 Plumb, Edith Agnes, Battle Creek, Mich.
 Plumb, Rollo G., Battle Creek, Mich.
 Polen, Miss Abbie, Wyoming
 Potter, John E., Pittsburg
 Reynolds, John B.
 Reynolds, Schuyler L.
 Reynolds, Mr. and Mrs. Dorrance
 Reynolds, Constance
 Reynolds, Nancy Buckingham Dorrance
 Reynolds, Patricia
 Rice, Hon. C. E.
 Richmond, William Henry, Scranton
 Richmond, Clara Morss, Scranton
 Ricketts, Col. R. Bruce
 Ricketts, Mrs. Elizabeth Reynolds
 Ricketts, Miss Jean
 Ricketts, Miss Leigh
 Rockafellow, Grace Ferdinand
 Rogers, Dr. L. L., Kingston
 Root, A. R., 441 S. 43d, Philadelphia
 Root, Stanley, 441 S. 43d, Philadelphia
 Ross, Mr. and Mrs. K. J., Pittston
 Ross, Mariana F., Pittston
 Roushey, O. L., Dallas, Pa.
 Rowley, Thompson H.
 Smith, Mrs. May Cary, West Pittston
 Saxe, Sterling B., Wyoming
 Schooley, H. B.
 Schooley, J. J.
 Schooley, Jesse B., Wyoming
 Scott, Eben Greenough
 Sharpe, Richard
 Sharpe, Richard, Jr. (life member)
 Sharpe, Rosa Duncan (life member)
 Sharpe, Caroline Johnston (life member)
 Sharpe, Margaret Johnston, Jr. (life member)
 Sharpe, Miss Sallie (life member)
 Sharpe, Miss Mary A. (life member)
 Sharpe, Miss Elizabeth Montgomery (life member)
 Shepherd, W. C.
 Shoemaker, Jacob I., Wyoming
 Shoemaker, Miss Jane A.
 Shoemaker, Mrs. Harold Mercer
 Shoemaker, Mrs. Jennie M., Wyoming
 Shoemaker, Mrs. Mary S., Wyoming
 Stevens, Adelia Ross
 Stites, Rev. W. Scott
 Stuart, Robert D., Carbondale, Pa.
 Sturdevant, Mrs. Carrie Rogers
 Sturdevant, Mr. and Mrs. W. H.
 Sturdevant, Miss Jessie T.
 Sturdevant, Thomas K.
 Taylor, Dr. Lewis H.
 Thayer, W. E., Scranton
 Thomas, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac M.
 Thompson, Dr. L. M., Dorranceton
 Thompson, Mrs. L. M.
 Tracy, Mrs. Frederick K., Scranton
 Trumbower, Charles K., West Pittston
 Trumbower, Mrs. Mary B. Richart, West Pittston
 Tucker, Mrs. Henry St. George, Lexington, Va.
 Von Storch, Theodore Constant, Scranton, Pa.
 Wadhams, Ralph H.
 Watres, Hon. L. A., Scranton
 Wellburn, Rev. George W., Scranton
 Welles, Mrs. Anna M.
 Welles, Albert H., Scranton
 Welles, Mrs. Edward
 Welles, Mr. and Mrs. Henry H.
 Wells, Mrs. Annette C. Line
 Wilcox, Emily, Scranton
 Wilcox, William A., Scranton
 Wilcox, Capt. William Jenkins, Scranton
 Williams, Mrs. Delphine
 Witman, Merritt
 Witman, Miss Mary A.
 Wolfe, Mr. and Mrs. Horace G., Morristown, N. J.
 Wolfe, Mrs. Dale, Philadelphia
 Woodward, J. B.
 Wren, Christopher, Plymouth
 Wright, George R.

*Died since preceding meeting.

The Wyoming Monument Association, incorporated in 1860 by a special Act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, pays \$25 annually for the care of grounds.

The Association has the following membership:

Andrews, Sallie
 Atherton, Margaret
 *Bennett, Mrs. S. B.
 Bixby, Helen Miner
 Blair, Dr. Lovisa I.
 Bowkley, Clara Langford
 Bowman, Mrs. Elizabeth L.
 Coward, Harriet Stark
 Crane, Jennie M.
 Chrisman, Elizabeth Miner
 Dickey, Mrs. E. P.
 Dorrance, Ruth, President
 Dorrance, Ann
 Dorrance, Frances
 Dean, Mrs. W. L.
 DeWitt, Dr. Emma G.
 Dickson, Kate P.
 Fear, E. A., Hon. Pres.
 Greir, Minnie R.
 *Gregory, Mrs. Elizabeth
 Hughes, H. C.
 Hunt, Lydia A., Treasurer
 Jacobs, Ruth
 Jacobs, Elizabeth, Second Vice President
 *Jenkins, Mrs. Rhoda S.
 Jenkins, Elizabeth L.
 Johnson, Emily
 Keith, Phoebe Shaw
 Kennedy, Amelia

Law, Ellen A.
 McCabe, Flora K., Secretary
 Miner, Eliza R., First Vice President
 Maffet, Martha
 Miner, Mrs. Asher
 Markham, F. G.
 Morgan, Ruth Johnson
 Miller, Sarah P.
 Park, Mrs. S. M.
 Polen, Abbie
 Strong, Mrs. Theodore
 Strong, Emily
 Sharpe, Sallie
 Shoemaker, Mary G.
 Stevens, Mrs. R. A.
 Sturdevant, Jessie
 Shoemaker, Jennie C.
 Reilay, Mrs. R.
 Sutherland, Grace
 Taylor, Emily H.
 VanScoy, Alice S.
 Watson, Mrs. William
 Wilcox, Emily

COMMITTEES:

Flags—Mrs. Shoemaker, Miss Markham.
 Table and Rug—Misses Wilcox and Jacobs.
 Flowers—Mrs. Reilay, Frances Dorrance,
 Emily Johnson.

REPORT OF THE 1918 EXERCISES

JULY 3, 1918

Instead of the customary historical address of former years, the annual exercises of the Wyoming Commemorative Association at Wyoming Monument to commemorate the massacre of 1778, held July 3, 1918, were marked by a fervent, patriotic talk given by Orrin C. Lester of Washington, D. C., head of the speakers' bureau of the American Red Cross. The fact of the speaker being from the Red Cross brought out a large number of speakers and workers of that organization besides many other interested persons, many of whom can claim relationship to those who figured in the massacre.

The platform was draped with American flags and trimmed with hollyhock and daisies. Seats of honor were given on the platform to John Welles Hollenback of this city and William Henry Richmond of Scranton, two of the oldest residents of this section, and both vice presidents of the association.

The program as printed was carried out; Benjamin Dorrance, the president, giving a short address. Alexander's Band played an exceptionally fine program, which included military and Indian music and old Southern melodies. An added and most attractive feature was the singing of George Dion of New York City, accompanied by the band. He sang "Hello, Central, Give Me No Man's Land," and other modern patriotic songs.

At the close of the program the following new memberships were received: Mrs. Frances P. Alexander, Frank Allaben, New York City Charles D. Kunkle, Dallas; Russell Conwell Lewis, Forty Fort, "Somewhere in France;" Mrs. William Arthur Mandeville, Mrs. Maria R. Mandeville, Mrs. Sarah Perkins Miller, Wyoming; Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Murray, Mrs. Delphine Williams.



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MR. LESTER'S ADDRESS

Your speaker need make no appeal to this audience for patriotism, for I am reminded that in our struggle for American independence in 1776 this community raised five times its quota of men. In all the wars and in all the great movements here in America for human liberty and justice, this community has fully met its responsibility. In this present war you are giving more than your allotment of men; you have over-subscribed your Liberty loans. You have contributed liberally to the Red Cross, to the Y. M. C. A., to the Knights of Columbus, and to the other worthy causes. You have done it all with the same unselfish purpose with which this country first came into the war. And you will continue to support the war with this same unselfish purpose until Germany is hurled back at the point of the bayonet and civilization is again made safe.

As we think back now over the history of our civilization and our institutions, it seems scarcely possible in the light of twentieth century progress that 141 years ago an innocent community should have been massacred ruthlessly in what has become one of the greatest States in this great nation. But America was a new country then. The meaning of liberty had not been fully defined, and the rights of conquest had been handed down as a heritage for generations past.

We are an older country now, and we have enjoyed the blessings of liberty too long and too unselfishly to understand how almost a century and a half after that massacre we should still have nations in this world that do not respect the territorial integrity of other nations and believe still in the torch and the sword as a method of settling disputes.

To-day citizens from this community are once more pouring out their blood and treasure in defense of their liberty. Side by side with the democratic peoples of the world men from Wyoming Valley are resisting to the death the Prussian horde who would overrun the world. I will be

pardoned, therefore, if I turn now from any local consideration of this day to its wider significance in an hour of crisis at the most momentous period in the history of the world.

When, in April, 1917, with his soul bathed in the consciousness of a righteous cause, President Wilson asked the United States Congress to declare a state of war with Germany, from that moment forward there was only one great problem before the American people,—that problem was *to win the war*. Business, profession, society, life itself, became secondary to the necessity of protecting the very foundation of our institutions, and defending the liberty for which our forefathers have bled and died in the wars of the past.

“When Congress declared war against Germany, they declared all America at war, not only the Government, not only the Army and the Navy, but the people as well. From that date on *we* were at war, and it became the duty of every American to accept the responsibilities of war and to work out a war program to meet these responsibilities. Whatever may have been our private opinions, prior to that date, in reference to war, at that moment, neutrality, pacifism, political differences were swept aside and every good American became united in mass devotion to a common cause.

Some few have felt constrained to say that we entered this war too late; some have thought our program of war was slow and in some instances, inefficient. Personally I do not pretend to know whether we went into the war too late or whether we went in on time. I do know, however, that this war will not be won by criticism, and I am convinced that it is better for all of us to put our shoulders to the wheel to try to make two German defeats where we might have made but one before, and reserve our criticism till the war is over.

I feel like apologizing when I address an American audience on the war these days, because the things you are doing to help win the war are so much more practical than anything which I might say that it seems an impertinence

to interrupt you. It may be well, however, to remind ourselves again of what this turmoil and struggle is all about, in order not to lose sight of the great ultimate goal and purpose for which the civilized nations of this world are at war. The issues of the war must be kept clear.

I realize that it has been hard for some of us to understand, three thousand miles from the theatre of war, why the best of our boys in this peace-loving land should be equipped in soldiers' uniform and sent to war when we do not believe in war. But we are beginning to see that this is not merely a war between armies. If it were, we might annihilate one side and the war would be over. If it were merely a war between nations we might arbitrate a settlement. But it is more than that. It is a war between the very principles of peace and the principles of war, with all the forces that stand for freedom and of individuals and of nations on the one side, and the forces that are opposed to freedom of individuals and of nations on the other. It is a war between the very principles upon which the Prussian and the democratic ideals of government have been founded.

It is curious how men and nations sometimes misinterpret their own ideals. It is reported that Emperor William, a few days ago, speaking at the celebration of the anniversary of his accession, said: "Either German principles of right, freedom, honor and morality must be upheld in this war or Anglo-Saxon principles, with their idolatry of Mammon, must be victorious. The Anglo-Saxons," he asserted, "aim at making the people of the world work as slaves for the Anglo-Saxon ruling races."

And when I tried to reconcile that statement of the Kaiser with the rivers of blood that have flowed from the Central Powers, and from France and Flanders to the sea in this war; when I knew that the stain of that blood could never be washed from the hands of this man and his associates, I said, "How long, oh how long will Germany be misled by hypocrisy like that?" But God Almighty is no trickster, the truth will one day make them free.

The conflict of these two opposing principles for which this war is being fought is no new fight. It is older than government. It is older than organized armies. It has been the cause of wars from the beginning. It goes back to man's first dream of independence. It is the old struggle between independence and tyranny. It is the struggle between freedom and slavery, the struggle between liberty and autocratic government. Extreme government and liberty somehow have always been opposing terms, and the farther we go from the one, the nearer we approach the other. When you have absolute liberty you have no government.

Britain, France, and especially America and the other democratic nations of the world, basing their consideration on the intelligence of mankind on the one side, and the lawlessness of mankind on the other, have tried to combine the best of government with what liberty it seemed safe to permit. This, so far, has been our nearest approach to a pure democracy. Germany, on the other hand, has built a government without real liberty, a government that promotes the power of its rulers and suppresses the rights of its people. That government we call an autocracy; and if the people of Germany knew as much of the oppression of this form of government as the autocratic rulers themselves, there wouldn't be an autocratic government in Germany.

This war, therefore, is being fought to determine whether the civilized nations of the world shall continue to encourage the intelligence of the people as an element in government and press on toward the goal of a larger liberty and a purer democracy, or whether civilization shall face about and return to the jungle. This war was not started by Germany because a crown prince was murdered in Austria. Germany has proved in this war that she does not put any such high estimate upon her relations. The war was started in order to force upon the nations of the world outside of Germany the same principles of government that the German people have tolerated at home, to the end that an insane lust for commerce, territory and conquest might

drink its fill. This war will never be ended till we destroy the theory of autocratic government in all nations, and prove to the world, including Germany, that every nation's liberty and rights end at the boundary where other nation's liberty and rights begin.

Britain, France and Canada, and the other allied nations in this war for three years before America entered, had fought across the dead bodies of their countrymen in protection of this righteous cause. That is why we have seen that line on the western front bend, but never seen it break. We will *never* see it break, because those nations are fighting for the truth. If it should ever happen, as we know it will not, that France should become exhausted in this war, and Canada should give the last she has, if Italy should become wearied and Britain tired out, should any of these countries ever drop the flag of freedom, there remains here in the United States an inborn love for liberty that will spur America to pick the banner up alone, and carry it over the Rhine!

Britain, France, Italy and Canada have given their best in this war. Belgium and Poland and Serbia and those other little maltreated nations have given all they have. America will give her best. She will give her all if need be, and while our boys are in Flanders, yonder, underwriting our liberty with their lifeblood upon the field, we must make the supreme sacrifice at home. We must underwrite our Liberty bonds and our Red Cross fund and the other worthy causes with our last penny, if need be, and with the last ounce of strength we have.

To say we shall fight this war to the end is a commonplace. Of course we will fight it to the end. It has cost us too much blood and too much money and too many broken hearts to fight the war thus far to quit it now before we have settled for ourselves and for our children the principles for which this war is being fought. It has cost the belligerent nations outside the Central Powers almost one hundred billions of dollars to fight the war through these four years.

That's too much money to pour out for an inconclusive peace. The war has cost the world mountains of human bodies,—nobody knows how many. It has cost enough broken-hearted mothers and sweethearts to depress the world with sorrow and to flood the world with tears.

It may take three million men to win. It may take five million. It may take more. But if it takes ten million, we had better settle the issue now than to leave it for our grandchildren to settle later. We may have to bond this nation for fifty billions of dollars to finance the war. We may have to volunteer a thousand million dollars to the Red Cross, but it were better to give our lives in this war, and bankrupt our families, than to compromise with Germany upon any terms of peace which will not insure the natural rights of nations and of peoples in all the future to come.

We have heard a great deal in this war whether we are fighting in this war against the German people or only against the German government. The truth is, we are fundamentally not fighting against either. We are fighting against the philosophy that has made the government of Germany and molded the thought of her people. The German government believes in this philosophy and the people believe in the government. Hence there is no way to discriminate, and whether it is a war against the government, or against the people, or against both, Germany must somehow learn in this war that no nation under the twentieth century enlightenment can without just cause, challenge the rights of other nations and threaten them with force.

The Kaiser himself has said that this is a war against all of Germany. Drinking a few days ago to the health of the German army and its leaders, the Emperor said, "The German people and the German army indeed are now one and the same, and look up to their leaders with gratitude. Every man out there knows what he is fighting for. The enemy himself admits that, and in consequence we shall gain victory—the *victory of the German standpoint*. That is what is in question." We have no reason to differ from

the Kaiser, because we know there has never been any apprehension in Germany as to what this war is for. The issues of the war were clear in Germany before the Austrian Crown Prince was born. We must, therefore, not only overcome the German army in this war and change the foundation of the German government, but we must whip the war-spirit out of Germany, and this war will never be won, even from a military standpoint, until we drive the German army back into their own country, and in the presence of their own people, give them a sound trouncing on German soil.

I am not one of those who believe that there is going to be an honest revolution among the people of Germany during this war. There must, of course, ultimately be a revolution in Germany, but that revolution will not come during the war. It will come after the war is over. In fact we do not care especially whether that revolution comes during the war or not. We can defeat Germany without a revolution.

The real end of this war, after all, is to determine for the world, including Germany, whether nations at the close of this struggle start a program of education toward world peace or a program toward world militarization. If the latter should prevail, then the peace-loving nations of the world must abandon their ideals and enter a contest with Germany for world domination. If the former should prevail, then Germany must abandon her philosophy that *Might Makes Right* and start on her long educational journey to learn how to be great without domination.

The most pressing question in this war to-day is to win a military victory. To lose would mean to turn back the hands of the dial of progress four hundred years. In winning this military victory, America is going to play a large unselfish part. I doubt if this war could be fully won without the American boys in khaki, yet the American boys in khaki are too good Americans to seize the credit for the

ultimate victory of this war after their allies had bled and suffered for three years before America arrived.

We probably could not win this war without the American business man, and I believe the American business man is too good an American to make war an opportunity for selfish ends.

We could not win this war without the American workman, and the American workman is too good an American to slacken in his program until the last cannon has been forged and the last bullet has been moulded.

We could not win this war without the American farmer. And the American farmer will plant every acre of ground he can whether wheat is \$2.50 or \$3.00 a bushel.

We would not want to and we cannot win this war without the American women, and the American woman has too big a heart to allow this war to close with one bandage or one service too few.

We could not win this war without the hundred million Americans at home, and those hundred million Americans will stand by the colors till Kaiserism is deposed in Germany and Humanity is crowned their king.

Germany's challenge to America in this war was not that America dared not fight. Her challenge was that a democracy could not mobilize an army. Our first answer to that challenge will be the defeat of the German army at the mouth of American cannon. Our second answer will be the defeat of military autocracy as a principle of government before the strength of American ideals.

There is even a third answer—the spirit here at home. The greatest single element in winning this war, outside of the boys in the trenches,—and there can never be another force as important in any war as the boys who fight the battle,—is the civil population here in America. Someone has said, "It is not the length of the battle line that counts; it's how deep it is that counts." And the reason that we know that battle line on the western front yonder will never break is because it extends back into the very heart of

France; it extends across the Channel into the heart of Britain; it extends across the Atlantic into the heart of Canada and the United States, and three thousand miles of American patriotism on this side of the Atlantic organized into action, has been carried across three thousand miles of water and placed beside the patriotism of the governments and the peoples of the Allied nations in this war. It has been carried right up to the very edge of the trenches, and we are saying to the boys to-day, "Gon on, boys, we are with you to the end."

We have unified and organized this spirit of American patriotism into action through various organizations and movements. We call it Red Cross; we call it Y. M. C. A.; we call it Knights of Columbus, we call it by various worthy names. But after all, these organizations are merely the machinery through which the spirit of the civilian people of this country has been organized for war. When we speak of the Red Cross, or Y. M. C. A., or Knights of Columbus, or these other worthy organizations, we are speaking of ourselves, the American people, the second line of defense in the war. As the boys who leave their home to accept the responsibilities of war must take on a war program, so we who stay at home must accept the responsibilities of war and take on a war program. It does not prove that a man is a good American simply because he buys Liberty bonds or subscribes to the Red Cross, or the Y. M. C. A. or some other worthy movement, or because he pays his income tax without grumbling, or abstain from eating wheat bread when there is no wheat bread to eat! A man cannot stand in these days on past records, or use his ancestry or wealth as a lever to secure him service in some safe place. The only way a man can prove himself to-day is to get into the game with all his might and prove his metal by *action*. That does not mean that one has to go to the front in France or Flanders, unless one belongs at the front in France or Flanders. But it does mean that every man should be up where he belongs in the line at home.

I receive letters almost every day from my friends wanting to go to Washington to help win the war. That is a fine spirit; for most of them would make sacrifices in leaving their positions and their homes. But this war is not going to be won at Washington. The Earl of Reading, speaking to a group of American lecturers in Washington a few weeks ago, said to them, "As you go up and down this country speaking to the people, say to those people that every time a carpenter drives a nail into a ship, every time a farmer points his plow into the ground, every time a woman makes a surgical dressing, they are doing something just as important toward winning the war as if they were firing bullets at the front."

There is another consideration—another point of our mental attitude. We must not let this war close with a mere military victory. This raises the question of American responsibility after the fighting is over. We cannot close this war as we closed our Civil War in America,—by merely declaring the political and personal freedom of a few million slaves. In this war we must not only declare the nations of the world free, but we must provide an international way to keep them free in the future. In settling the terms of peace, America must play the same large, unselfish part she is now playing in the fight. I do not pretend to forecast what the terms of peace will be. But I do know that the essence of that document will be to prove the fundamental rights of mankind everywhere and the right of conquest nowhere.

Of course, the basic consideration of those terms of peace will be a complete and uncompromising military victory. My opinion is that the second consideration will be the freedom of all nations, large and small, from the tyranny and conquest of other nations. That means little, deposed Belgium and Poland and Serbia, nations which will have given their last ounce of energy if need be and their last drop of blood in winning this war. It means disorganized Russia with her one hundred and eighty millions of people. It means Armenia. It means the islands of the

seas. It means the seas themselves. As President Wilson said a few days ago in speaking to a group of newspaper editors, "As a foundation of the future life of the nations of the world, let us have an agreement, that if any nation, the United States included, violates the political independence or territorial integrity of any of the other nations, all the others will jump on her."

The third consideration in the terms of peace in this war, I believe, will be an industrial understanding among the nations of the world which will ultimately be the end of ruthless competition in business and the beginning of world cooperation. We must remember, of course, when we think of world cooperation that every world problem is first a local problem. A nation cannot cooperate with another nation till it first cooperates at home. This war has produced the greatest illustration of social, political and industrial cooperation that nations have ever seen. We shall come out of this war better organized for life. Our experience in the war will rationalize our society. It will purify our motives. It will define our ethics. It will enlarge our humanity. But the motives and the ethics and the humanity of nations are only as pure and as sound and as gracious as the people and the organizations that make up those nations. And the part that America plays at home in the war, and after the war, is going to depend upon your community and upon you, and upon my community and upon me.

The fourth consideration in the terms of peace in this war, I prophesy, will be a program looking toward everlasting peace. Disputes in the future must be settled by intelligence and not by war. I don't know what that program will be. I am not one of those who believe that all nations will disarm. My personal judgment is that we must prepare in the future with as much care to prevent war as some nations have prepared in the past to make war. Instead of the old motto which read, "In time of peace, prepare for war," we shall change that motto and make it read, "In time of peace, prepare to keep the peace." The world's program of prepa-

ration to prevent war may not be much different from a program to make war, except that all nations will unite to protect the civilized world against any common enemy, instead of each nation preparing to protect itself against all enemies. And if out of our experience in this war, the civilized nations of the world are not brought close enough together to agree upon such program of cooperation for times of peace, we shall have lost one of the greatest opportunities the world has ever had.

There are two types of pacifists, so called, in this world: One, a man who is said to believe in peace at any cost. The other, a man who merely does not believe in war as the best method of settling disputes. One of these might be willing to compromise and close this war before it is fully ended. The other would fight it through to the end, and in victory would find the world's greatest opportunity for everlasting peace. To this latter class belong the best-thinking people of the world, because no sound-thinking individual believes in war if it is possible to settle disputes honorably without war.

President Wilson, speaking to the group of Mexican editors a few days ago, said to them, "Peace can only come by trust. If you can once get a situation of trust, then you have a situation of permanent peace. Furthermore, everyone of us owes it as a patriotic duty to his own country to plant the seeds of trust and confidence instead of the seeds of suspicion and variety of interest."

In making it possible for the nations of the world to arrive at a condition of peace in this world which will protect the rights of mankind in the future, I believe that the organization which I have the honor to represent, the American Red Cross, will have played a very important part. Let us remember in thinking of this great organization that the biggest thing about the American Red Cross is not the funds that it raises, or the supplies that it produces or the organization it has built. The biggest thing about the American

Red Cross is that it has helped to unify the intelligence of the world on a basis of service.

When General Petain, the leader of the French Army, said, a few days ago, that the American Red Cross had increased the morale of the French Army a hundred per cent., he didn't refer to the supplies and the funds and the Red Cross organization; he had seen his nation touched by the hand of a friend. He had seen the spirit of his soldiers revived in the Red Cross canteen. He had seen those poor broken refugees clothed and fed and made happy. He had seen the repatries coming back from behind the German lines met at the railroad station and welcomed by the American Red Cross. He had seen orphans made happy and babes saved from death. He had seen the French soldier made a better soldier because his family was looked after at home. And one of the best works the American Red Cross has done in this war is to extend the spirit of sympathy and service to the people at home in those poor broken nations of Europe whose able-bodied men are at war, and where only the old men and the women and children are left, and many of them homeless, penniless outcasts.

This great Red Cross movement is bigger than the construction of battle-lines, because it is more lasting—bigger than the world's charities, because it has made charity an investment—bigger than philanthropy, because it knows no selfish aims—bigger than banking systems and commercial enterprises, because it puts service before profit. Here in the Red Cross is the finest self-sacrifice the world has ever known; and yet no sacrifice is here. It is sacrifice refined into opportunity,—opportunity for relief—opportunity for service—opportunity for giving—opportunity for proving that peace, not strife; smiles, not tears; are component parts of an ideal civilization, and finally opportunity for faith to blossom that right must ultimately win.

This organization is not only proficient for the work it has to perform in this war, but it will be a demonstration of service that will change the spirit of modern society after

the war is over. When the war is over, the spirit of this great Red Cross will have found its way into private business, and men will interpret, as they never have interpreted before, what it means to deal with others as they would like others to deal with them. And while we are raising funds to save suffering humanity in this war, we are at the same time making for a new ethics, for a new humanity, for a new relationship of nations, for a new brotherhood of men.

I am using the Red Cross in my illustrations in this address because I happen to be connected with that organization. If I were connected with one of the many other worthy movements that are ministering to the comfort of the soldiers and the unfortunate people in this war, I am sure I could use one of them to illustrate a similar device. And this gives me an opportunity to say, my friends, that the real test of our Americanism has not come yet. We have done well. We have done all we have been asked to do, perhaps, but we haven't been asked for much in this war.

When we think of how much we can afford to give in comparison to some of those little broken nations of Europe, and how much we can afford to serve; when we think of how much they have given in comparison to what they have; when we think of the broken humanity and the wrecked homes; when we think of the widows and orphans; when we think of the armies of France and Britain, of Canada and Italy and Belgium that have kept Germany out of Paris and London and America; when we think that those nations, although tired and exhausted, have never been tempted by any kind of peace except a peace at the mouth of the cannon; when we think of it all, there is only one answer for any good American—that is, "I'll give and serve and serve and give, and die if I must; but as an American, I'll never give up till it's won."

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